



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

## THE APACHE IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1846-1886

BERTHA BLOUNT

For three hundred years the Spanish and Mexicans waged relentless war against the Apaches who returned all of their cruelty and hatred in double measure. The Apache proved that he was neither to be subdued nor conquered as had been the Indians of Mexico, and the passing years widened the gulf that yawned between him and his would be masters. When the people of the United States looked with longing eyes upon the southwest, it was in utter ignorance of the tremendous problem that awaited them, —a problem that had proved the undoing of both Spaniard and Mexican before them. Prosperous settlements and thriving ranches had been laid waste by the indomitable Apache until his very name struck terror to the heart of man, woman and child. With an insatiable land-hunger and with a boundless faith in their own ability to master the situation, the people of the United States invaded the southwest, acquired Mexican territory and incidentally acquired some thousands of fierce and warlike Apaches, who must be conquered, restrained and taught a new mode of life ere the new possession could offer adequate protection to its inhabitants. From 1846 until 1886 the struggle went on between the Apaches and their new foes. Various plans for bringing order out of chaos were proposed and given trial and many lives were sacrificed before peace and order came to stay. The story of these forty years of conflict are full of human interest for they are the story of a strong and gifted people making a heroic struggle for their ancestral home and for their tribal freedom, longing with an intense longing to be allowed to live their lives in accord with the wild and savage customs handed down to them from their savage forbears. Arrayed against them were a people of virile stock, bearing aloft the torch of civilization and humanity but, being intensely human, their higher ideals had mixed with them baser desires of selfishness, hatred and greed, and it was largely due to these latter traits that the settlement was forty long years in coming.

Though the Apache had long been the bitter enemy of the Mexican, yet the citizen of the United States did not share the hatred

so generously given his southern neighbor. Indeed the Apache welcomed the United States as an ally during the Mexican War, for Mexico was their common foe. But the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo wrought a great change; a change not at first recognized by the Apache. By the terms of the treaty, the United States assumed all responsibility for the protection of her newly acquired Mexican citizens and also for the enforcement of good-behavior by the lawless Apache, who was no more to be allowed to depredate south of the international boundary.

*General Kearny's treaties.*—While on his hasty march of conquest, General Kearny held meetings with representatives of the various tribes, including the Apaches, making treaties,—largely verbal,—with them. By these treaties the Indians were bound to submission and future loyalty, whereas the United States pledged itself, through its authorized representatives, to furnish them full protection against enemies internal and external. Scarcely had Kearny turned his back on the newly sworn friends than the Navajos, one tribe of the Apache family, began open degradations upon their sometime foes. Colonel Doniphan was dispatched to the Navajo country to secure the release of all prisoners and property stolen from the inhabitants of New Mexico and to secure adequate guarantee of future good conduct. The new treaty signed was but one of a series continuing through the years 1846-1867. Only the last one was worth the paper it was written on. Most of them were not even ratified by the Senate but that mattered not, for before that body had time to act the Navajos had already proven the written word valueless. Colonel Doniphan did succeed in leaving New Mexico before the Navajos again raided the settlements. Then followed the Taos Revolt which was in turn followed by a period of guerilla warfare in which the Apaches and Navajos took active part. United States troops were stationed in the new territory and to them was intrusted the public safety. During the years that followed these troops saw much active service, especially on short scouts and punitive expeditions against both Navajos and Apaches. During the earlier years of United States occupation the Navajos and Jicarillas were the ones most frequently in need of chastisement. Santa Fé and the Rio Grande valley were a constant temptation to the Navajo who quickly escaped from his raids into the

most impenetrable fastnesses of northwestern New Mexico. Scarcely less daring were the Jicarilla Apaches who found valuable prey in the travellers over the Santa Fé Trail.

In the early 50's when gold began to lure men to California, wagon trains began to wind their way through the mountains of New Mexico and Arizona to the golden land beyond. The almost incredible estimate of sixty thousand has been made for these weary travellers over the Santa Fé Trail and the southern trails leading from Texas. Privation and suffering attended their path, but worse than all else was the wily Apache who lurked behind rock and bush, showing no trace of his presence until unhappily the weary traveller was off guard or too weakened to successfully defend himself. Then the men of the party were slain and the women and children killed or carried into lives of slavery worse than death. All stock were much esteemed booty, for horses and mules were legal tender among the Apaches. Not only were they valuable as riding animals but they provided food,—mule meat being an exceedingly choice dainty,—and with them a man might buy his wives.

In March 1849, after Congress had created a new department, that of the Interior, and after it had placed the department of Indian affairs under it, the Agency at Council Bluffs was transferred to Santa Fé that there might be a base from which the government might hope to deal with the Indian problem in the new territory,—a problem which had by that time begun to assume rather large proportions. But the law-makers of the Union were too ignorant of the needs of the situation and even the local civil and military officials were too newly on the ground to be able to speak authoritatively. So the first decade of United States occupancy dragged on, punctuated here and there by treaties with the hostiles by scouts and the Military and by periodic punitive expeditions which failed before they started, in the big thing they sought to do because the number of the force was too inadequate to inflict a lasting blow.

One thing of incalculable importance marks this decade: this *terra incognita* became known. As the troops scoured the mountains in quest of renegades, they grew familiar with the country; they learned the contour of the land, the trails, the water courses and the springs. They penetrated the mountain fastnesses

where the Apache had long hidden himself secure from pursuit. And with this acquaintance with the country they acquired further acquaintance with their wily antagonist, whose habits and customs they must know before they could hope to control or conquer him. But the gain did not stop there. Various exploring expeditions were made and the boundary and railroad surveys plotted the map of the new territories. Thus passed the decade of the 50's. At its end the Apache problem seemed little nearer its solution for the enemy was even more avowedly an enemy than at the time of the conquest. But the United States had made definite progress.

One other beginning made by the United States during these years must be mentioned. In spite of the unsettled condition of the new territories, the influx of population had been considerable. The California immigrants, many of them, failed to reach the promised land and took up their abode where their exhausted resources or worn horses stranded them. Copper, gold and silver mines were opened in Arizona and drew the customary ambitious money seekers. The Vigilance Committee of San Francisco strenuously encouraged settlement of southern Arizona by expelling desperadoes from California.

This influx of population was for years apparently a source of weakness to the United States rather than strength, for the newcomers offered new temptations to the Apaches for depredations and they were ever in difficulty with the Apaches and were constantly complaining of the inadequacy of the military protection and of the efforts that were being made to control the Apaches. But in time, their presence helped to provide that evidence of power that led the Apache to see that his cause was hopeless.

*Growing Apache hostility.*—And while the white was thus gaining knowledge and getting ready for really grappling with the problem before him, what of the Apache? As the white began to gather in larger numbers in Apacheria and as the previously impenetrable fastnesses were penetrated and as the troops were inflicting punishment upon the Apache tribes, their attitude toward the United States changed. No longer considered allies, the people of the United States must be recognized as more dangerous foes than any who had come before. They were more numerous than the Spaniards had been and braver than the Mexicans were prov-

ing to be. The Apaches began to see that if they would hold their home in security they must be more wily than ever. But more potent than these things in changing the Apache attitude toward the citizens of the United States was the treatment that some of them received at the hands of the troops. Their confidence in the fair play and honesty of the United States received its first mortal wound.

In the spring of 1861 some Apaches stole a cow and a child from the Mexican mistress of an American. Seventy-five men were sent from Fort Buchanan to demand the return of the stolen property. At Apache Pass, under protection of a white flag flying over the tent of the commander, Cochise the head chief and five other chiefs entered for a talk. Upon their stout denial of all knowledge of the matter, the order was given to seize the chiefs. Cochise slit the tent with his knife and effected his own escape but the captive chiefs were hung in retaliation for the fighting that was begun immediately by the Chiricahuas Apaches. Years of bloodshed were the fruit of that act of American treachery.

*The Civil War.*—Almost immediately too, the Civil War broke out and the troops were removed from Arizona. This increased the Apache belief in the efficacy of their punishment of the United States troops and led to a general devastation of the whole region. Thus the close of the Civil War found all of the Apache tribes except the Jicarillas openly hostile. The Indians of the Gila country were united in hostility against the whites, planning their extermination.

*Extermination attempted.*—Because the situation was serious and because of lack of federal sanction for any plan suggested for the meeting of the situation, those in authority fell back upon the more stringent form of police duty which was in effect that of extermination. With this extreme measure General Carleton, then commanding New Mexico, seemed in full accord.

*The Expedition against the Mescaleros.*—The Mescaleros were the first to feel the force of the blow. An expedition was started against them under orders that the men were to be slain whenever and wherever found: the women and children could be taken prisoners but were not to be killed. The recalcitrant Indians finally

surrendered and were placed at Bosque Redondo until such a time as war against the hostiles should be finished when they were promised a reservation in their own country. Meantime they were promised protection at the Bosque.

*The Mimbrenos subdued.*—The Mimbreno Apaches were the next to suffer. An expedition against them in January, 1863, resulted in the capture of Mangus Colorado and twenty of his warriors, many of his band having been slain. Mangus Colorado was their aged chief who for nearly five decades had been the dominant figure in his own tribe, having also broad influence over other Apache tribes. A man of marked ability he was, of wise councils and with the mind of a statesman. Of him it was said that he could collect under his direction and provide with the necessary food a larger group of warriors than could any other Apache chief. His capture and subsequent tragic death failed to increase the love of his tribe for the United States but did effectually stop the warfare for a time.

*The Navajos conquered.*—A third great expedition was planned and carried into effect—this time against the treacherous Navajos who had so long been on the war-path. Early results of the expedition were relatively so unimportant that it was finally decided to invade Cañon de Chelly—their greatest stronghold. The invasion was apparently without results but as the Navajos saw that there was no place impregnable to the pursuing white, they gradually came in and surrendered themselves. They were placed on the Bosque Redondo where the Mescaleros were already gathered. And there they stayed until they were taken back to their own country four years later. The Navajo rebellion was truly at an end,—temporarily and permanently.

*The joint expedition of extermination.*—But these expeditions had not done away with the Apache problem though it had done much to pacify certain of the hostiles. So in the spring of 1864 General Carleton conceived the idea of a joint expedition to last from sixty to ninety days in which they would “either exterminate the Indians or so diminish their numbers” that they would cease their “murdering and robbing propensities and live at peace.” Don Ignacio Pesquira, Governor of Sonora; Don Luis Perrazas, Gov-

ernor of Chihuahua, and the miners in the Apache infested regions all agreed to co-operate and place forces in the field. As a result of this combined effort some three hundred sixty-three Indians were killed and one hundred forty wounded. Allowing for loss of animals to the Indians, their foes made a net gain of ten thousand six hundred and forty-six head of stock. Two thousand Navajos were sent to the Bosque and thirty of the western Apaches also found their way there. Hostiles were still in the mountains and more bitter than ever against their would-be conquerors. And the war of extermination went on, the regular troops being ever stirred to greater activity.

*Military re-organization.*—When the Military was re-organized at the end of the Civil War and General Halleck was placed in charge of the Military Division of the Pacific under which Arizona lay, he said, "It is useless to negotiate with these Apache Indians. They will observe no treaties, agreements, or truces. With them there is no alternative but active and vigorous war, till they are completely destroyed, or forced to surrender as prisoners of war."

His successor General Ord was an even more enthusiastic exterminator. His own words reveal only too clearly his attitude and the course of events in the latter 60's. "I encouraged the troops to capture and root out the Apaches by every means, and to hunt them as they would wild animals. This they have done with unrelenting vigor. Since my last report (1868) over two hundred have been killed, generally by parties who have trailed them for days and weeks into the mountain recesses, over snows, among gorges and precipices, lying in wait for them by day, and following them by night. Many villages have been burned, large quantities of arms and supplies of ammunition, clothing and provisions have been destroyed, a large number of horses and mules have been captured, and two men, twenty-eight women, and thirty-four children have been taken prisoners." That mercy found little part in the treatment the Apache received during these dark days is evident. That gross injustice and bitter cruelty did find place is all too evident. Repeated instances of this might be cited but one will suffice, the one chosen being a story which in its repetition in the east, did much to bring about a change in government policy regarding the Apache.

*The Camp Grant Massacre.*—A band of about one hundred fifty Arivaipa Apaches had presented themselves at Camp Grant expressing a desire for peace. Lieutenant Whitman, then in charge of Camp Grant, agreed to allow them to locate there temporarily, while he should communicate with the proper authorities and learn what disposition should be made of them. Meantime he promised to feed and protect them. Word was brought to Whitman that a large party of “Americans, Mexicans and Papago Indians” had left Tucson with the “avowed determination of killing these Arivaipas.” He at once sent orders to the Indians to come in to the post where they could be adequately protected. But his messengers were too late, for the attacking party had surprised the camp and already the place was strewn with the mutilated bodies of women and children and their lodges were in flames. The men were mostly away at the time of the attack; of the one hundred twenty-five killed or missing, only eight were men. Though one hundred of the perpetrators of this crime were indicted and brought before the United States District Court for trial, a deliberation of twenty minutes was all the jury needed before bringing the verdict, “Not guilty.” The press and the people of Arizona justified or apologized for the crime.

As the story of this atrocity was repeated in the east, and with it others no more to the credit of the white men, sympathy for the poor abused Apache crowded largely from the mind the thought of the crimes that had dyed the hands of the Apache red. In 1867 a Commission had been sent to New Mexico to settle the Navajo question and it had successfully transferred the Indians back to their old homes, establishing them there on a reserve where they began a new life of agriculture and sheep-raising, gradually forgetting the former life of pillage and atrocity. Why might not the same thing be done for the rest of the Apache family rather than to continue this cruelty and injustice that were placing such a stain on American honor?

*The mission of Mr. Colyer.*—With plenary powers, Mr. Vincent Colyer went in 1871 to New Mexico and Arizona hoping great things. But he found no echo of that hope in the expression of the press and the people—especially in Arizona. All were bitterly and actively hostile to him and to his mission of peace. The Indians

themselves had had their faith in the friendliness and fidelity of the white man so badly shaken that it was difficult to hold satisfactory conferences with them.

Four reservation were selected for the Apaches: at Tularosa, New Mexico, for the Mimbrenos and Coyoteros; at Camp Apache in the White Mountains of Arizona for the Coyoteros and Chileons of Arizona; at Camp Grant, Arizona, for the Arivaipas and Pinals; and at Camp Verde, Arizona, for the Mojave Apaches of Yanpais. Also three temporary asylums were established for the protection and feeding of other Apaches until such a time as they could be moved to permanent reservations. These three were at Camp McDowell, Beal's Springs and Date Creek. These were primarily for the Tonto Apaches, Hualpais and the western band of Apache Mojaves.

The military and local officials tried to carry into effect the reforms instituted by Mr. Colyer but the results were far from satisfactory to themselves and to others. Cochise and his band were actively hostile in the south, the children of the Apaches who were taken into captivity at the time of the Camp Grant massacre were still unrestored to their people, the Mimbrenos and Coyoteros who had been transferred to Tularosa were far from happy there and longed to return to their old homes. So, in February, 1872, General O. O. Howard was sent out with powers similar to those of Mr. Colyer that he might carry into effect as far as he was able the views of the Department in regard to the nomadic Indians, especially considering the propriety of uniting and settling these Indians on a reservation further east in the territory of New Mexico. General Howard was more successful than his predecessor had been in winning the confidence of whites and Indians and his suggestions were consequently more in line with a possible course of procedure. At his recommendation, six Apache children who were held by whites in Arizona were returned to their relatives: this won the confidence of the Indians at the very beginning. The Camp Grant reservation was discontinued because of the unhealthy character of the place, and in its stead a new agency, called San Carlos, was formed on White Mountain reservation. A reservation was set apart in southeastern Arizona for the Chiricahuas after General Howard had succeeded in meeting Cochise and making a treaty with him. It is noteworthy that this treaty was faithfully kept

by this hoary warrior of unsavory reputation and by his people. Nor was it set aside until the United States saw fit to do so that the Chiricahuas might be moved back from the international boundary. But that is a later story. One other thing stands to General Howard's credit. He encouraged Superintendent Pope to make an experiment with Navajo police under the leadership of their respected chief, Manuelita. That this experiment was wholly satisfactory was the cause of its spreading to the other reservations and other tribes where it finally became a part of the regular means of control of the Indians. General Howard also abolished the Indian feeding posts at McDowell, Beal's Springs and Date Creek and allowed the Tontos to take their choice between the White Mountain reservation and the Verde reserve. The Indians at Tularosa he still left there that the trial might be fairly made of that place, for the officials were bravely trying to prove that their choice of place for the reservation was a wise one. But try as they might, it was a failure, for the Indians did not and would not like the place and the larger part of them would not remain on the reserve. So in 1874 it was ordered that the Apaches there be transferred back to the vicinity of their former home,—to Ojo Caliente. There they settled down to lives of contentment and quiet.

Thus by 1874 some of the more vexing of the Apache troubles had found settlement. There were still renegade bands in the mountains and the troops and Apache scouts saw frequent service in consequence. But the number of Apaches living quietly on reservations and learning the pursuits of civilized life had never before been so large. The most sanguine saw bright visions for the future. But already a cloud "like a man's hand" was to be seen in the sky and soon the storm burst upon the red man and the white.

*Concentration reserves instituted.*—Arizona and New Mexico had been rapidly filling with new settlers. Many of these had settled on lands occupied or at least claimed by the Indians. The lands were desirable and the whites wanted a chance to hold them in lasting possession. The Indians, they thought, were not adequately occupying them and the pressure was very strong upon the government to remove the Indians from these lands and thus give them to the whites to occupy and improve. Furthermore the officials

believed that the hostile tribes surely could be more easily and economically controlled were they corralled on more or less limited tracts of land where it would be possible to supervise them more closely. For these reasons it was decided to begin to concentrate the Indian tribes on certain reserves selected for them. Concentration reserves were not unthought-of before this time but the time for attempting their inauguration had not before seemed ripe. Ownership of the land in severalty and the extension over the Indians of United States law and the jurisdiction of the United States courts were a part of the ultimate plan.

*The Verde reservation abandoned.*—The first transfer gave the Verde reservation to the whites and transferred the Tontos living there to San Carlos. With true courage the Indians there had begun their new life. Without adequate implements they had dug ditches and planted crops. Their lands had been promised to them by General Crook and they were unwilling to leave them. He himself refused to give military aid in transferring the Indians by force for he felt the injustice of the action. Though reluctant, the Indians submitted peaceably to the transfer.

*The White Mountain Coyotéros removed.*—More unjust still was the removal of the White Mountain Coyotéros from their homes in the White Mountains to San Carlos. They had steadfastly maintained a peaceful attitude toward the whites, assisting in the capture of hostiles. Comfortably located in their secluded mountains, these Indians were regularly raising greater crops than all of the rest of the Apaches put together. But that the cost of the agency administration might be lessened and that the trade of these Indians might be diverted from New Mexico to Arizona "where it properly belonged" the transfer was made and all former promises were set aside. A majority of the White Mountain Coyotéros refused to move but the rest were finally prevailed upon to migrate. The state of their minds is clearly read in the sanguinary quarrel that added to the general confusion and discomfort of the journey. The hostility of the Pinals who were already at San Carlos and with whom the White Mountain Coyotéros had a hereditary feud, led many of these newcomers to leave San Carlos in the fall of 1875 and seek refuge with their cousins on the Chiricahua reserva-

tion. But a quarrel there between the two tribes resulted in the death of a Chiricahua chief and again the Coyotéros were forced to seek refuge elsewhere.

*The Chiricahua reservation abolished.*—The Chiricahuas were the next victims of the concentration policy. With the reputation of being the most warlike of the Apache tribes, and with a history fairly reeking with bloodshed and cruelty, the Chiricahuas had faithfully kept the pledges of peace that they had made to General Howard in 1872. They seemed in fact to have “buried the hatchet” as far as the United States was concerned. Frequent raids were made into Mexico and many were the victims to their prowess there and many were the horses and mules that they brought back to their reservation homes. But that was no violation of their treaty.

On one of these raids into Sonora gold-dust and silver were secured. Desire for this led a man, Rogers by name, living at Sulphur Springs, to let them know that he had whisky in his home. Orders from the agent were strict that no whisky was to be sold to the Indians but that made no difference to him. Repeatedly he sold to the Indians and when he finally refused to sell more, they shot Rogers and his cook. The Indians then stole some horses, ammunition and whisky and returned to their camp in the Dragoon mountains. The agent and a troop of cavalry went to the scene of the murder and then sought to follow the murderers. Finding them too securely entrenched in the mountains the expedition was abandoned for the time. Later the troops tried to find these hostiles but neither they nor their companions were captured.

Shortly after this preparations were made for the removal of the peaceful Chiricahuas to San Carlos. Because of the crime committed by a small group of Indians, acting under the influence of liquor illegally sold to them, the Chiricahua tribe was deprived of its rights on the reservation, that reserve was restored to the public domain, and the pledged word of the United States was set aside. Three hundred sixteen Chiricahuas reached San Carlos and about one hundred forty followed Gordo to Ojo Caliente; and some four hundred, led by Hoo, Geronimo and Nolgee, roamed the country from the Rio Mimbres to Santa Cruz, Sonora. But they wreaked a bitter vengeance on the country for the loss of their ancestral home and such a period of distress and bloodshed fol-

lowed as had not been since the days when Cochise and his warriors avenged the treachery of the troops in 1861.

*The Ojo Caliente Apaches taken to San Carlos.*—Unfortunate though the attempt had been to get the Southern Apaches at Cañada Alamosa to settle at Tularosa, the authorities were nothing loath to make another removal of them from their chosen place of abode at Ojo Caliente. The excuse was not hard to find. Renegades from the Chiricahuas had sought refuge with the Southern Apaches. With these Chiricahuas they had been associated in their frequent raids. Therefore in May, 1875, the Ojo Caliente Indians who had not fled at the suggestion of removal were taken to San Carlos and their reserve was restored to the public domain.

*The Jicarillas Apache transfers.*—The fifth transfer attempted was that of the Jicarillas to the Mescalero agency in southeastern New Mexico. A reservation had been set apart for them in northwestern New Mexico but no attempt had been made to place them on it. Then in 1878 came the order that "without delay" they should be transferred to the Mescalero agency. Only thirty-two actually made the move, for the rest refused to go to a place where anarchy was rife. That there was more truth than fiction in the charge against the Mescalero agency was apparent to those having the removal in hand and they winked at the Jicarilla insubordination hoping that the following year might bring orders for some different disposal of them. Southeastern New Mexico was become the home of the desperado class of Mexicans and Americans and organized bands of thieves made that their rendezvous, skillfully laying on the Apache all blame for depredations committed and property stolen. The Apache was evidently more sinned against than sinning at this particular juncture for the promised protection he found to be nothing of a protection and when he fled to the mountains for safety he was pursued by the Military and punished for his flight. No wonder the Jicarillas saw no gain in making their home in such a place.

Three years later the Jicarillas were ordered to move to their new reservation in northwest New Mexico and part of them did so. There they remained until 1883 when they were again ordered to the Mescalero agency. This time the transfer was effected

though a part of the tribe strongly objected. Three years later they were again moved back north to their own reservation where they have since been permitted to remain.

Consolidation had brought its losses and its gains: it was one step in the development of the southwest and in the meeting of the Indian situation. Consolidation had come to stay. With the exception of the Mescaleros and the Jicarillas, all of the Apaches were officially located at San Carlos and at Fort Apache—all on the White Mountain reserve. There they were making progress in civilized life, having laid aside most of their nomadic habits. Irrigation ditches, fences, houses, and fields of corn, wheat, melons and pumpkins were the index of their advance industrially. Educationally but a start had been made in the path of formal education. Many were the lessons the sometime savages had learned in the arts of peace. Most of their number saw that the new order had come to stay and that it was futile to struggle against it. With the increase of cultivated fields, they saw the loss of all, were they to take the war-path. Gradually they were coming to understand that by maintaining order on the reserve their own lot was bettered and very efficient was the aid given by the Apache police and Apache scouts.

But one very strong Apache chief with his followers was abroad in the mountains from which he made his hasty raids through southern New Mexico and Arizona and northern Mexico. Immeasurable damage had this Victoria already done and much more was his desire. In 1882 two steps were taken which in a word pronounced his doom.

For nearly forty years the international boundary had been one of the Apaches' assets. Any pursuing party could follow only that far. Once safe across that imaginary line, which the Apache found was a very effective rampart, he was safe. Ninety-nine chances to one there would be no troops within many miles of the place the hostiles entered the country and before the troops would have a chance to gather the quarry had fled to security in the mountains where the troops dared not follow.

*General Crook's Campaigns.*—By a treaty between the United States and Mexico troops of both countries might pursue fleeing savages across this international boundary in "unpopulated or

desert parts." This in itself was of incalculable importance and strengthened the hands of both countries. But this was not the only change effected in the year 1882. General Crook was again given command in Arizona. In the early 70s he had been in charge but at that time the Peace Commissioners were just beginning their work and the commander's duty was to carry out the plans of others rather than to himself undertake the settlement.

General Crook possessed a rare fitness for the task in hand. Long years of experience with Indians of other tribes and a brief experience with the Apaches themselves, tireless energy and dauntless courage were invaluable qualifications. But he possessed one other trait much needed,— a high sense of honor. Promises had been made to the Apaches; he felt that they should be inviolable. Never for a moment did he equivocate on the matter of Indian obedience to the white man—unless the white man was wrong in his demands. Then he took the Indians' side firmly and unchangeably. He was firmly convinced that the Apache must not only be established on some plot of ground but that he must be put to work raising something on it which would prove to him that the civilized mode of life was worth while. The Verde reservation, at the time of its abandonment, was expression in material form of this strong conviction of General Crook. For the hostile, Crook was ready with his own medicine: and General Crook's hostility was worthy of its name.

The important reforms that General Crook inaugurated upon his return to command were five. Every male Indian capable of bearing arms was required to wear constantly a metal tag of identification; the police force was re-organized and frequent roll-calls were required; from six to seven hundred White Mountain Indians were allowed to leave the hot valleys of the Gila and San Carlos rivers for their old homes in the White Mountains; conferences were held with disgruntled Indians and as far as possible their fears were allayed concerning the purpose of the United States to disarm them and remove them from Arizona; and preparations were made for an active campaign against the hostiles for it was reported to him that new attacks from the hostiles were already planned.

Early in March, 1883, two parties of hostiles left their stronghold in the Sierra Madre mountains of Mexico, one under Geronimo raiding Sonora to gain stock, the other under Chato crossing into

the United States to gain ammunition. During the six days or less that Chato's party was in Arizona, at least nine men were killed along their trail which measured nearly four hundred miles. They safely eluded pursuit but the raid was a costly one to them. Not only did the Apaches acquire but little ammunition but also one of their number deserted and made his way to San Carlos. There he was arrested and later he became the guide who led the troops to the Indian stronghold in the Sierra Madre mountains.

Having orders to proceed "regardless of departmental or national lines" General Crook himself proceeded to Mexico to consult with the authorities there. In both Chihuahua and Sonora he found hearty co-operation and plans were made for movements against the hostiles.

Leading his command, General Crook crossed the roughest country imaginable, entered the "impregnable stronghold" completely surprising the Indians. After a furious fight the camps and their contents were captured: five half-grown girls and young boys were also taken. Through them communication was had with the rest of the tribe. The result was an unconditional surrender of these hostiles with their chiefs Geronimo, Chato, Bonito, Loco, Natchez and Kan-tin-no. These were taken to San Carlos and at their own request runners were sent out urging what others were scattered in the mountains to follow and surrender themselves.

*The final outbreak and surrender.*—After this for a period of more than two years Arizona and New Mexico had rest from warfare. That there would never be another Apache outbreak was confidently expected by General Crook and others in authority. But the memory of past wrongs was still fresh in their minds and confidence in the faith and justice of the government was not yet fully established. Then as added fuel to the smoldering flames came some difficulty over the making of tiswin, the native Apache intoxicant. For whatever reason or combination of reasons it may be, in May, 1885, Geronimo, Mangus, Nana, Natchez and Chihuahua, with less than fifty warriors and a double number of women and children, fled from the reservation trying to reach the safety of the mountains of Mexico ere the pursuing troops should overtake them. In this they were successful, but being hard-pressed even in those mountain fastnesses they again crossed into the United States. It began to

look as though the whole party would soon be captured or killed for their stock was almost exhausted. But Fortune gave them one more opportunity. By chance they came upon some of the best stock in the country, and helping themselves liberally to this unexpected gift, they made off again into Mexico.

Though exasperated beyond measure at this new turn in events, the troops pushed south after the fugitives and succeeded in capturing all of the stock and supplies of the hostiles though they did not destroy the Indians themselves. A conference for the discussion of terms of surrender was called for the following day. Before break of day, the United States troops were inexcusably attacked by a Mexican force and Captain Crawford was wantonly slain. This again delayed the settlement for General Crook must needs join his command first. The surrender was finally agreed upon, but the Indians held themselves constantly vigilant both day and night as if prepared for attack. When matters were finally agreed upon, the command started for Fort Bowie from which place the Indians were to be sent to Florida. En route Geronimo and Natchez again became suspicious and with a party of thirty-six fled one night.

The adverse criticism which had come to be General Crook's portion was even more generously bestowed as the result of this latest flight. He requested relief from his command and General Miles was ordered to assume command of the department.

Owing to war with the Yaquis, the Mexican government had been compelled to withdraw most of its forces from Sonora, leaving that people defenseless. Geronimo and his warriors assumed the offensive and made simultaneous attacks at three points in Sonora. They then invaded the United States again only to retreat south and west. Persistent pursuit and repeated losses led the Indians to urgently request that they be allowed to surrender to General Miles, the department commander. He joined his command and terms of surrender were agreed upon.

The prisoners were taken to Florida where Geronimo was put to sawing logs. After some time they were removed to Mt. Vernon, Alabama. Later they were again moved,—this time to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where they now live. Contrary to the terms of the surrender, Geronimo did not see his family for two years.

Thus ended the Apache struggle of three and a half centuries,

—a struggle marked by cruelty, hatred and cunning. When he laid down his arms and acknowledged defeat it was only because he lacked men and equipment to carry on the strife. Time alone will tell whether or not the white man has been the only one who has gained in the settlement, or whether in return for his wild freedom and tribal entity there has come to the Apache a greater gain in new and higher ideals and habits of life. His past is past and the future is largely a sealed book.

*Bibliographical Note.*

The foregoing article is a resumé of a study prepared as a Master's Thesis at the University of California under the direction of Professor Herbert E. Bolton. The study was based on the following documents and works:

*Primary Sources.*

Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the years 1854-1886.

Annual Reports of the Secretary of War for the years 1846-1886. Barrett, Stephen Melvil, Geronimo's Story of his life. N. Y., 1907. Bartlett, J. R., Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua. 2 vols. N. Y., 1861.

Bourke, J. G., On the Border with Crook. N. Y., 1891.

Browne, J. Ross, Adventures in Apache Country. N. Y., 1869.

Calhoun, James S., Calhoun Correspondence. Collected by Annie Heloise Abel. Washington, 1915.

Connelley, W. E., Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California. Kansas City, 1907.

Cremony, J. C., Life among the Apaches. San Francisco, 1868.

Gregg, Josiah, Commerce of the Prairies. 2 vols. N. Y., 1845.

Howard, Major-general O. O., My life and experiences among our hostile Indians. Hartford, 1907.

McCall, G. A., McCall Letters. Philadelphia, 1868.

Mowry, Sylvester, Arizona and Sonora. 3rd ed. N. Y., 1866.

Stratton, R. B., Life among the Indians. San Francisco, 1857.

Summerhayes, Mrs. Martha, Vanished Arizona. 2nd ed. Salem, Mass., 1911.

*Secondary Materials.*

Bancroft, H. H., History of Arizona and New Mexico. Vol. XVII of Works, San Francisco, 1889.

Bancroft, H. H., History of Utah. Vol. XXVI of Works, San Francisco, 1889.

Bancroft, H. H. Native Races. Vol. I, Wild Tribes. Vol. I of Works, San Francisco, 1882.

Bancroft, H. H., North Mexican States. Vol. I, Vol. XV of Works, San Francisco, 1884.

Bishop, W. H., Mexico, California and Arizona. N. Y., 1900.

Bolton, H. E., Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780. 2 Vols. Cleveland, 1914.

Bolton, H. E., Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706. N. Y., 1916.

Bolton, H. E., Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century. Berkeley, 1915.

Brown, M. A., Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1846-1851. Master's Thesis, University of California, 1916.

Chapman, C. E., The Founding of Spanish California. N. Y., 1916.

Dunn, J. P., Massacres of the Mountains. N. Y., 1886.

Dunn, W. E., Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the U. S., 1678-1702. Austin, Texas, 1917.

Ellis, G. E., The Red man and the White man in North America from its discovery to the present time. Boston, 1882.

Farish, T. E., History of Arizona. 4 vols. Phoenix, 1915-1916.

Garrison, G. P., Westward Extension, 1841-1850. N. Y., 1906.

Grinnell, G. B., The Story of the Indian. N. Y., 1895.

Grinnell, G. B., Beyond the Old Frontier: Adventures of Indian-fighters, hunters and fur-traders. N. Y., 1913.

Hodge, F. W. (ed.), Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico. 2 vols. Washington, 1907, 1910.

Hornaday, W. T., Campfires on desert and lava. N. Y., 1908.

Inman, Col. H., and Col. W. F. Cody, The Great Salt Lake Trail. N. Y., 1898.

Inman, Col. H., The Old Santa Fe Trail: The Story of a Great Highway. N. Y., 1899.

Moorehead, W. K., The American Indian. Andover, Mass., 1914.

Paxson, F. L., The Last American Frontier. N. Y., 1910.

Twitchell, R. E., The Leading Facts of New Mexican History. Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1911.

Thrall, Rev. H. S., A Pictorial History of Texas from the Earliest Visits of European Adventures to A. D. 1879. 5th ed. St. Louis, 1879.